

621 (b) Lewamaki(ng) Nipatale' (slaves before)
644 2. Ekimaki(ng)

V. Lewonuhah

1. Lewonuhah Ama Kottang
2. Lewonuhah Ama Keleng

[567] Note the slave group which is worth later investigation. Note also the Ama Marang inside the Ama Kottang. Usually this is separate, but here it is assimilated to the Kottang. Note that the Ama Kottang and the Ama Keleng subdivisions of Lewonuhah are listed. The latter was once a separate kampong and the two subdivisions were suku in it. Lewo means kampong.

644 The people here refer to the "sixteen kelake" and there are sixteen groupings. Thus there are sixteen kepala ama. But actually there are only twelve kelake or kepala ama, in addition to the five suku chiefs. Some of the latter are double positions as is the kepala ama also, and they may even be kepala kampong at the same time. Anyway, the kelake are as follows:

- I. 1. (a and b). Belepe Lolong
2. Waktuka
3. (a and b)). Ama Marang
- II. 1. Tuakerura
2. Ama Belemang
- III. 1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
2. Eramolik
3. (a and b). Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
(he also is the kepala suku Hurint,
that is, guru Roy)
- IV. 1. (a and b). Lewamaki(ng)
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ekimaki(ng)
- V. 1. Ama Kottang
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ama Keleng

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Thus of the five suku chiefs, three are also

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622	<u>Ama Hurint</u>	Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624		Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614		Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796		Nipatale.
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231	<u>Lewato</u>	Head: Man from IVa.
		Feet: Man from IVb.
		Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint,
		except Nipatale.
	<u>Lewodoreng</u>	Head: Man from Va.
		Feet: Man from Vb.
		Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint,
		except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-lb--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut.
[753] They just look on. Also, they have no land of
their own, but use the land of their masters
(i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
must give the first fruits of their gardens to
these masters, and if they do not they get sick.
He says that they were bought from Adonara not
long ago, perhaps about four generations. They
are not really free yet. They must obey the
orders of their masters. In ordinary life, how-
ever, this is a matter of adat and respect (hor-
mat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a
matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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- 614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
● 567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however,
and the bride price for them is the same, etc.
He said that even in the beginning they inter-
married; in fact as soon as they got into the
area they integrated into the marriage system.
So strong is the need for these marriage rules
that even slaves must be put into the system.

- [727] The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
are descendants of war captives brought back
from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago.
They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen
above in their lack of chance to do any of the
duties of the Datong suku. They do not have
their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual stand-
ing, no land, and they must do certain duties.
In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

- 614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in
from Leloba. They have no land of their own in
Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their
use during the next year.

- 721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a
number of incidental things. For instance, right
now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the
road near Waibalun because there is a state of
war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and
there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng).
The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the
kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng)
hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the
kelake. The power of these stones invigorates
the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is
called pusat. I think the center of the cir-
cular rice field complex is also called the
pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name
of a kampong about one kilometer outside the
town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and
there he will spend tonight. He is his father's
successor. Will he take the post? He said just
about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan.
But evidently they could be Christian, although
a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the
ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is
possible to marry with one's mother's brother's
daughter, but not with the other cousins, in-
cluding father's sister's daughter, mother's
sister's daughter, and father's brother's daugh-
[184] ter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter
marriages now. I must check on this.

• 567 We got onto the census matter with the assis-
tant. This led to some new points. He said
that they do have slaves here and said that he
would indicate them in the census, but I must
never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have
many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently
the more daughters the richer the family may
become because of the bride prices. If the
family consists of all boys, there is consider-
able trouble in getting enough goods for the
bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned
in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said
there is trouble often in getting the price and
that men who can't marry on this account are not

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of
stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive.
It is located a little to the side of the path
and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about
this: it is a woman turned to stone with her
child because she bathed naked) is located four
kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong
Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,¹
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in
the kampong. In the garden itself they kill
only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These
are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent,
Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The
term kraeng is used for all three levels of
nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,¹
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If,
however, there is need of a new tuan tanah
house, labor is given without pay. And if there
is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah
besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the
kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps,
although other kampongs may assist in some way
or other.

● 567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
pang) until it was certain that they would not
run away. It is also correct that slaves who
had been in a family for a long time might even
marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

1 [See bibliography, cat. 112 --Analyst]

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567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long
standing slaves were used to the house and
would not run away. If they were sold and then
had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in
new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles,
but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have
moved into their kampongs, and they also have
moved into other kampongs. It is remembered,
however, that they are descendants of slaves.
In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 346, he
is right about the kind of slaves called se-
kontu. They were directly under the kraengs of
Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties.
Their descendants are still numerous in their
kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e.,
these are the Rahong ones). There has not been
much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they
must provide supplies for law cases on tour.
Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing,
Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed.
These kampongs are not under either the dalu or
gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo
and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are
now assimilated just about to commoners, but
they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas is all right on page 348.

601 Coolhaas's kin terms are O.K.:

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analysis]

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles,
commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata
hoß, but I forget the terms for the others.

[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a
second wife. They are more open here about sla-
very than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are
relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types
here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay ele-
ment predominates, and the East Flores Negroid
types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid
traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars.
There is also a great difference in the color of
the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
[197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not
the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby
and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted.
We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in
Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most
men have their names or initials as well as
figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the
secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy
tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners,
but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I
note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mere-
schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan.
This one is evidently Naru.

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will
give dispensation only with a certain amount of
fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is
evidently easier because the Catholics are newer
there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage,
but the very poor folk may omit it, although
they try to pay a little, and merely go and live
together. The price is variana. Formerly it
included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes,
horses, cattle). They try to give these things
now, but it is degenerating into money alone.
The return gift is called tau laguana. The
girl's family gives it. It usually includes
properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads,
and formerly slaves. The price also formerly
might have included slaves, I think. In addi-
tion, the girl's family gives a kind of "house-
hold outfitting" to the couple, including bas-
kets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is
like a dowry. Evidently it is also called
laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return
gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant
mother's brother's daughter type marriages.

[78] The price is much lower now, and this consti-
tutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might
pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two
slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do
so. In the old days, however, if a slave man
tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean
that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
● 567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the
Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not
be true: that the Catholic church has decided
that the bride price is a good idea, as it
solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it
out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's
parents. If all is O.K., the parents get to-
gether and decide on the price. The wedding
starts with the boy, with his best man, going
to the house of the bride, and there her family
kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and
the boy and his best man eat the pig or part
of it that evening, and then the couple have
their first sex relations in the girl's house.
The next morning the boy goes home taking what
is left of the pig and gives it to his family.
That day he returns to the girl's house with
his best man, leading a goat. This is presented
to the girl's family and they eat it. That
evening, the girl's family again kills a pig,
and the four eat part of it and then the couple
sleep together again. The next morning the boy
goes home taking the remains of the pig to his
family. He then returns with another goat and
gives it to the girl's family. That evening a
third pig is killed and the four eat of it and
the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is
just right for these folk who are ill a good
deal of the time). But there is no real kekua-
tan adjaib here.

● 567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves
(like the "and two persons" still used in the
formula for the bride price among the Buginese).
There are slaves in the kampong now, but he
thinks that only about two to three per cent
of the population are so categorized. They
are, and were, taken into the suku, but for-
merly there was little intermarriage with them,
and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the
death punishment could be meted out. The
marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessen-
ing, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is
an excellent man and a good worker) may marry
a higher girl. However, they are well known,
and in general are still to be classed under-
neath. For example, they have to do certain
duties (the guru said they are like "servants";
he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live
in houses with regular people, or perhaps in
their own houses. Everyone knows who they are,
but no mention is made of this because they
reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth
investigating further: exactly what are the
duties, and exactly how are they thought of
and what do they think of themselves, etc.?
(Remember that in the United States no one
really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open
charge of being descended from slaves.)

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555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family.
Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

[428] Houses, however, are strictly speaking
owned by the family or lineage. The eldest
son inherits the house, and other sons build
their own houses or may live in with the eld-
[591] est son and his family. The women have no
houses, as residence is patrilocal except in
unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They
may borrow food, and the interest on such
accrued during the following year is from fifty
to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There
are no other paid jobs. (How about the three
kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per
cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one
commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
789 The genealogical organization is strong here.
Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent
entirely. The people here obey them because
they are in the place of their fathers. The
curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this
goes for the chiefs too. It should be remem-
bered also that the chiefs have magic power,
derived from the sanction of the ancestors and
visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front
of the chiefly houses.

• 567 The nipatale intermarry with other people,
although they originally were slaves. Thus
there is a slave class, but it is integrated
with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area.
There are no visible signs of status except
that of living in a chiefly house, belonging
to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of
status in front of the house. I note also that

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583 who may not have paid the bride price, and that
591 is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285,
291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 Then came the trouble. I saw that there
124 were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas¹ said
there are many slaves here, especially in Ra-
hong, this dalu. He said that this may be true,
but that the people just will not tell him who
might be descended from slaves. This is the
trouble I get into by using a lad who is not
from the kampong himself. But this brought up
something else. He is very afraid of every-
thing. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until
he had permission from van Bekkum² in writing.
Also, he worries today lest the inspector find
anything wrong with his school work. And he is
very much afraid of my asking embarrassing ques-
tions. I tried to get him to guess how many
slaves there were in the kampong, but he would
not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought
there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is
one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is be-
cause they themselves were so often enslaved
by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes
in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into
trying harder to give me some information on
this by saying that I thought I would have to
write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves
because they were slaves themselves. This
shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is some-
thing like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung
there probably never were very many slaves, be-
cause these people were pretty poor before, and
indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute
to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them
to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to
pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been
very much). Anyway, Cornelius³ says there were
plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

¹[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] ²[i.e., the
³[i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst] assistant]

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567 said that this was true in Ruteng town especially. I get the definite impression that there is a lot hidden under this slave secrecy, the kind of evidence that seeps out when I ask about the dalu and kraeng. These folk have had a hard time, and were not liberated from Bima, which ruled with a hard hand, until relatively late. They are still, I think, under the dalu and the kraeng a lot.

567 He said that there are kampongs where all
621 the inhabitants, though originally commoners
565 (and note the difference between the "gelarang kampongs" and the "leke kampongs" below), were made into virtual slaves by the sultan and the dalu. These were the ata lampang, and their kampongs were called the "lampang kampongs." In Rahong they were Adjang, Limpong, Teras, Pokka, Kina, Ketok, and Lenteng. Here the people are all of this background, except for a few newcomers, and they are not ashamed to tell it. And nowadays they marry with other commoners and even with gelarang (although the assistant later grimaced when he said that he wouldn't want his family to marry certain people). The main areas for this kind of kampong were and are Todo, Pongkor, and here in Rahong.

Then there are kampongs nearly all of whose population is descended from commoners who were sekontu, i.e., virtual slaves of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. In Rahong these kampongs are Tengka, Levur, and Levat. And there has not been much mixture yet. The folk there are not ashamed to tell about it, as everyone knows, and everyone in the kampong is in the same boat. They too now intermarry quite a bit.

The mangko' pitu kampongs were under direct rule of Todo and Pongkor until about fifteen years ago, and these, although not exactly slaves, were like servants of the kraeng and had to render supplies to them when they came

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
● 567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius¹ says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

¹ [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

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567 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-
178 like services.
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The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty
565 of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius
614 says the people here regard them as aliens (as
567 indeed they are in this area, especially
considering the localism of "nationalism" here).

[173] And they themselves say that they are from
Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 (1) There are kampongs in which all the
567 "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example,
621 kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be in-
614 cluded among these, descendants of slaves who
were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
● 567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[17] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one
hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke)
who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng.
That is, they are kampongs which were made up
of commoners before, and which were depressed
to the lampang status. In these, very few of
the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one
hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These
were originally commoners (leke) but were made
into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently
the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the
mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the
sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three
seemed to work together, and the dalu are called
kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about
one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk
here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in
the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the di-
rect control of the dalu. There are eight of
them, including Puruk. The assistant says the
kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them
they are nobles among nobles, but in other kam-
pongs they can play on their status and the folk
have to give them respect. Formerly they gave
them more evidently. He says that up to the
present time they still receive various forms
of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here
said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
● 567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigious men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

1 [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and
paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pong-
kor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had
to pay plenty.

● 567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class.
And the recency may explain some of the sensi-
tivity. These folk are just trying to make
their way into full freedom and won't be held
back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng,
whose identity I didn't know as he was just
dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive,
said that all men were equal now! Then he went
on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to
the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas; ¹ had
the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu
were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the
ones where most of the population was gelarang
(for example, Veol), and the ones where most of
the population were commoners (for example,
Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked
whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made
lampang, and the assistant said that he thought
not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles
in in order to keep things going (indirect
rule!).

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[177] Cornelius ² says that he does not know whence
came the dalu or what the situation was before
they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor
kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before
the dalu came in (see Coolhaas) ³ It looks as
though the dalu were put in by the Bima admini-
stration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here,
note that the Sarasins ³ in 1902 or thereabouts
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] ² [i.e., the
assistant -- Analyst] ³ [See 2: Kennedy, OBI Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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- 567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.
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565 If it is so that the dalu were put in by the
621 Bima administration, perhaps originally there
174 might have been only the gelarang, the tuan
[614] tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the
latter were aborigines, and the first conquest
brought in the gelarang class. But this seems
unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class
looks very ancient here. (For example, the
Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right
at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed
to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in
Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and
others are not, or like the situation in Ende,
where some have mosa laki and others do not.
Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three
hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and
Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who
came in through Makassar. They say so. But
they have no matrilineal system so far as I
know, and they have the va'u system like all
the people in Manggarai. And the language is
the same. However, I asked the assistant if I
was right in that the kraeng had a different
accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere
local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
621 cause for worry, because the original kampong
614 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
comers there are and how few of them are left.
There is a kampong where there are only three
old households left, and there are about forty
outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here
comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
former all marry in. Some of the present folk
[567] who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of
slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u
of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows
which families in the va'u are of slave origin,
but they will not tell outsiders. It is cer-
tain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol
folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the
kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi
entered. These relatives form an opening
wedge, and others follow. This is like immi-
gration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then
leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It
entered long ago and left about twenty years
ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often.
A clan enters and increases so much, while the
original clan also increases in size, that in
the end the original clan says that the immi-
grant clan must move. Then the other clan is
[624] given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the
tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they
go. This is what happened in the case of Tjant-
jar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well
clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They
just do. This is why the former slaves are
members of the clans. Only those on the in-
side know who is who. The longer the time
gets from slavery days the more it is not
brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar
with his coolie is quite usual here. They
stay usually for only a few hours.

[203] The pastors tell stories to the local people
about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time,
and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to
another kampong. The women go outside their
own kampong less often and do not go so far
away as the men. Men go out to trade horses,
[438] buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupa-
tion they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc.
However, all of this was within Manggarai. All
have been to Ruteng.

[167] All have been outside Rahong, as they have
been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of
the local population have never seen the sea.
One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to
work. The Japanese took several to Riung to
work, but most of the people have never left
Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indo-
nesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks
only one person has ever left Flores. He is a
pastor, I think.

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.
178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are
the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit
of respect, although this has suffered a marked
decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng,
and I can see that he tries to do the best he
can for his enormous "family" by getting land
for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, col- lectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalú	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang	} other slaves
ata sekontu	
ata mangko' pitu	

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken.

Others were taken as slaves because they didn't
behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.

[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of
punishment here for any infringement in showing
the proper respect to authority. Today there
are no more "slaves"

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sunbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but
291 they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them
177 then. Otherwise, there is just about no dif-
554 ference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[109] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

(487) Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-